

DECLARATION
OF HIS
HIGHNESSE,

BY THE
Advice of his COUNCIL,

SHEWING THE
REASONS

Of their Proceedings for SECURING
the Peace of the
COMMONWEALTH,

Vpon occasion of the late
INSURRECTION
AND
REBELLION.

Wednesday, October 31. 1655.

Ordred by his Highness and the Council, that this
Declaration be forthwith Printed and Published.
Hen. Scobel, Clerk of the Council.

DUBLIN,
Reprinted by Order of His Highness the Lord
Protectors Council for the Affairs of Ireland.
By William Bladen, Anno Dom. 1655.

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late Insurrection and Rebellion.

AFTER it had pleased God to give so clear
a decision of those Contests, which the
well-affected People of this Nation
for many years together had with the
late King, and his Party, and those who
after him espoused that Interest, and engaged up-
on

on the same bottom, That the Adversaries were wholly vanquish'd, and had their Persons and Estates through the gracious dispensations of God subjected to the power of those whom they had designed to enslave, and ruine, It was hoped, that that visible hand of God, which appeared against them in the War upon all occasions, would have had suitable impressions, and been sufficient to convince them of the error of their way, and engaged them to desert it, with those principles of licentiousness and prophaneness, which the Heads, and Leaders of that Party had long endeavoured to debauch the Nation with, and so obliged them not only to live peaceably under that Power which they were so eminently by the Providence of God brought under, but laying aside the remembrance of former differences, to endeavour in their severall capacities, the carrying on, and maintaining the Peace, and good of the whole, especially if they should see an end of their troubles, and themselves put into such a condition, that they might not be lyable to future revenge for what was past, but might be free both in their estates and persons equally with other men. And therefore as it was most evident, as well by their being admitted at first to compound for their estates, as also in the terms of their Composition (which were so easie and moderate to the generality, as that it led them to a better condition of support than generally befell the Parliaments Party, considering their many,
and

and large payments to maintain a long, and expencefull War) That the Originall intention of those who had then the Conduct of Affairs, was not to extirpate these men, with designs of possessing their Estates and Fortunes, but at first onely to defend their Liberties, and after to deprive them of those Arms wherwith they designed to enslave themselves, and the whole Nation, leaving them in that condition after they were overcome, as they might live in their former qualities, enjoying their Estates, and equall Protection with those whom they had endeavoured to destroy; (A proceeding very extraordinary, if compared with that which other Nations in all Ages have endured after a like disappointment by Civill War, who have held it for a principle, that settlement after such Commotions is obtained and conserved by a totall disabling the very inclination of those in times of Peace, whose actions have been dangerous in War; And in this Nation in former Ages, loss of life, and Confiscation, having been very usually the Consequences in the like Cases) We say, as the clear Intentions of the Parliaments party were discovered, and manifest in their first proceedings with their Enemies, To wit, that they designed not their ruine, but reformation; So after the battel of *Worcester*, upon that memorable day of the third of *September*, when the hopes of the Enemy seemed to be wholly broken, having neither Forces in the Field, nor Garrison left

left in *England*; And *Scotland*, which until then,
 might be some ground of Confidence to them,
 and of danger to Vs, so far subdued, that
 no considerable Enemy was left there, which
 also was the condition of *Ireland*; when all
 things were reduced into that state, and conditi-
 on, that as these men could in reason have but
 small, or no hopes of any change of affaires, or
 new opportunities to assert their old cause, So
 had We through the continued Assistance, and
 Presence of God, no ground to fear any new
 attempts from them, that might oblige Vs to
 any base, and unworthy Compliance with them;
 All endeavours were used on this side to lay
 foundations of composing the spirits, and uni-
 ting a broken and devided People, through a ten
 years War: There was not onely a punctuall
 performance of Articles of War, the like where-
 of no Histories can parallel (A Court being
 purposely erected to do them Justice in that
 particular, and the power thereof entrusted in
 such hands, who (as was intended in their choice)
 did execute it effectually on their behalf) but
 an Act of Grace, and Oblivion, was granted to
 them; Which favour as they could not have
 any pretensions to claim, or indeed expect, So
 neither could the Makers thereof have any o-
 ther Motives, or Arguments to induce them
 thereunto, but such as must proceed from the
 desires they had to heal, and cement, and to take
 away all seeds of difference, and separation,
 and

and of putting what was past into Oblivion, by means whereof the hearts of the Nation unhappily divided, might chearfully and affectionately meet in mutuall Interest; on which might follow Peace, Settlement, and Reformation, and consequently the Taxes, and Burdens which have been long continued, might be safely taken from off the People.

Upon these grounds also was it, that so great respect was had to this sort of men in the Settlement of the present Government, whereby they were admitted after three Parliaments to be elected to sit in the Supream Councils of the Nation.

It is true indeed, some opposition was made to that lenity which was used towards this Party, and more especially to the Act of Oblivion, many being of this persuasion, That it would not work those good effects as were designed and wished, but on the contrary, that all this indulgence would be abused, and opportunities given thereby of raising new troubles, to the endangering of the Cause We had so long contended for; wherein yet the Parliament it self were of a different Judgement from them, conceiving it impossible that there should be any sort of men so devoid of Ingenuity and Candor, or so resolved in their way, that neither the dispensations of God; nor kindness of men, could work upon them. However, it was thought, That in case they were mistaken, and that it should so fall out

In fact, and upon experience, that those who were by the mighty, and out-stretch hand of the Lord brought into a condition to ask favour, to sollicite for the blotting out the remembrance of past actions, and to be restored to the common privileges of the Nation, which they had justly forfeited, should yet despise, and reject it when it was offered, & retain their enmity after that they had been forced from their Arms, It would then have this effect at least, the leaving of such without excuse, in whatsoever wayes of severity the State should be necessitated to proceed with them in, for providing for, and securing the Peace of the Nation, when ways of tenderness were by them rendred ineffectuall to those ends. And we do acknowledge, unless the carriage towards them had been such as is before exprest, We could not with Comfort and Satisfaction to Our selves, have used the Course We now see We are obliged to take against the persons and estates of that party, for securing the lives, liberties, peace, and comfort of all the well-affected people of these three Nations.

But it having pleased God in his providence so to order things, that there was not onely forbearance, and moderation used towards them, and hopes given that they might enjoy their freedom, and have equall protection in their persons and Estates with the rest of the Nation, but they might claim it as their right, and as due unto them by the Laws and Constitutions of the
Land,

Land, as well as any person whatsoever who had been of this side; There can be no other Construction made of the Actions of that Party, to the disturbance of the publique Peace, and to the subversion of the Government, but that they are implacable in their malice, and revenge, and never to be drawn from their adhering to that cursed interest, which hath been the occasion of the shedding of so much innocent blood, and almost of the ruin, and destruction of these Lands. And therefore We do not now only find Our self Satisfied, but obliged in duty, both towards God, and this Nation, so proceed upon other grounds than formerly, with those who shall deserve this Character; And the Articles of War, Act of Oblivion, and other favours tendred, yea granted to these men, are so far from lying in Our way, or begetting scruples in Our mind, concerning the same, That Our hands are strengthened from thence to this work, and many doubts removed thereby, which otherwise would have stuck with Vs, as We have before exprest.

It will not be denied, That as well the Articles of War, as the favour, and grace granted by the Act of Oblivion, contained in them a Reciprocation. As there did a real benefit and advantage accrue to the Grantees, so certainly was there a good intended, and designed by them to the State, if the State do not attain their end, neither ought the other to accomplish theirs. In such Acts as these are, either both are bound, or both

into Liberty, and in the same condition, as if no such things had been done or acted; certainly none have signed to Articles of War, that are not conditionall, or when those who received those Articles resolved to break the conditions, they had not then the consent of those who gave them; Who did ever allow such Articles to Enemies, as might assist them to execute their malice, and revenge. If no breach of faith can make a forfeiture of Articles, the condition of those who receive them, is better than of him that gives them, because he submits himself to surprize; after he hath endured the hazard and expence of open War.

And as for the Act of Oblivion, That must needs be meant as an Obligation upon the Enemy, and as a proper means to take away the Enmity contracted by the War, intending by mercy to reform those who had opposed themselves to the publique welfare; and this need not be expressed, It doth imply such a condition in the nature of it; all pardons are granted with clauses of good behaviour, either explicate or implied; because else who ever grants them, lets loose a Delinquent to a future offence, and he that answers not the end and consideration of the pardon, cannot in reason be said ever to accept it. The Parliament by that Act, intended not onely an Oblivion of the offences of the aforesaid Party, whereby they had rendered themselves obnoxious, but that this kindnesse should be answered

ed with obedience on their part, and produce a real change in their principles and interest, as to the common cause this great Contest had been about, for otherwise this Act cannot be considered as obligatory to those who gave it: And in this case Forbearance from outward action will not avail, nor intitle to the benefit of the pardon, if yet there be malice and revenge in the heart, and such a leaning and adhering to the old interest, that nothing is wanting for the discovery thereof, but a fitting opportunity; for as such men cannot in Justice and Ingenuity, claim the benefit of an Act of Favour from that Supream Magistrate, to whom they know themselves to be Enemies, so neither is that Magistrate bound in Justice before God or Men to give it to them, if he hath reason to believe from the course of their Conversations that they are such, and that their Intentions towards the Government, under which they live, are the same as when they were in open Arms against it, and is at Liberty to carry himself towards them, as if no such Act had been: Nay, He may proceed against them with greater Severity, in as much as he hath used the last means to reclaim them without fruit, and knows by experience, That nothing but the Sword will restrain them from blood, and violence.

Then if this be the Case between Vs and the late Kings Party, to wit, That they have notoriously manifested it to the consciences of all men

that they do not only retain their old principles, and still adhere to their former interest in direct opposition to the Government established, but have been all along hatching new disturbances, and endeavouring as well by secret and bloody Assassinations, as by open force, to introduce the one, and overthrow and subvert the other; It will not be thought strange upon any Account whatsoever, that We did lately secure so many of the men of that Interest, although they were not visibly in Arms upon the late Insurrection; nor that We have laid a burden upon some of their Estates, beyond what is imposed upon the rest of the Nation, towards the defraying of that Charge which they are the occasion of, with some other things which We have found necessary in this time of Danger to direct concerning them, for the Peace, and Safety of the whole,

Now to evince this, though the Walks of Conspirators, who are a sly and secret Generation of men, are ever in the Dark, and the measure of all their Feet cannot be exactly taken and compared, yet many of their Steps, having been discovered through the goodness of the All-seeing God, We shall set down such part thereof as may be of use to make publique.

We shall not particularly mention some underhand, and very secret Contrivances which they had, and made some Tryall of, whereby they would have insensibly wound themselves into
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that power ; which they were not able to do by open force ; But that way not taking , they then betook themselves to Counsels of raising a new Warre , and designing a generall Insurrection throughout the Nation.

And to ripen those Resolutions, some persons were sent from hence to *Charles Stuart*, with Letters of Credit , and a considerable Sum of Money (the better to gain belief) to give him assurance , That the reasons why the Nobility and Gentry, and bulk of the Kingdom of *England*, which (they said) were Episcopall, and of his former party, did not rise with him upon his late march from *Scotland*, was, because he was believed to have gone upon grounes disagreeable both to their affections and Interests, and also to the good of the Nation , and inconsistent with the antient Constitutions both of Church and State , but that if he would return to his former principles , to wit , To cast himself totally upon his Old Party, they would venture both their lives and fortunes for his Recovery.

This being received with great acceptance, and the design resolved upon , the mannagement thereof was to be as followeth.

A Council was chosen of a select number , called by the name of a Sealed Knot, who were for the most part to reside in , and about *London*, and to keep and maintain Correspondencies with those of their Party beyond Sea, and within the Severall parts of the Nation, and communicate
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the mutuall Advices, Counsels, Orders and Resolutions of each other, which were necessary for such an undertaking. And there were three things which were chiefly designed by them in this business :

1. To prepare and engage every individuall man of their own party, who had either been in the former Wars, or had been a friend thereto, or was likely by reason of his alliance, breeding, or discontents, to engage therein; who being engaged were to bring all their Tenants, and those who depended upon them, and also to lay Designs for the possessing of Garrisons and Strong holds.

2. To raise a considerable Bank of Money to be employed for buying of Arms, defraying other expences incident to the management of such a business, and for the maintenance of Forces, as occasion should be; & for this one hundred thousand pounds was propounded for *England* alone, besides what was to be had in *Wales*; for the raising whereof, Privy Seals were to be sent to severall persons in *England*.

3. During the carrying on of this affair, *Charles Stuart* was to be maintained, and therefore a constant Contribution of money was to be endeavoured from such of his Friends as were able; and this latter was so well prosecuted by those Agents which were imployed therein, that he hath had many thousand pounds a year paid him from hence for these three years past. The two other things were to be carryed on, and managed by the

the said sealed Knot, and such Agents as went between him and his Friends here.

But as previous hereunto, and to make their work the more easie, and uninterrupted, and the Designe they had thus engaged in, the more sure in the execution (which they could not in reason but apprehend to have many difficulties in it, whilst the Nation was in perfect peace, and so much inclined to settlement, and rest, as being weary of the former Commotions, that whosoever should begin new troubles upon any pretences whatsoever, would be lookt upon as a Common Enemy, and might possibly finde the generality of the Nation so far from joyning with them, that they might declare the contrary way; As also whilst the Army was in an united posture, and under its ancient Conduct, it would be difficult for them to rise, without being suppressed, before they should be able to imbody in any such considerable number as might give countenance, and protection to such as should joyn themselves with them) They concluded some things to be effected, as preceding to, or at least contemporary with, the generall *Insurrection*.

One was the assassination of particular persons, thereby to beget great Confusions, and Contests, and give opportunity for all the Kings party to rise. There was one *Fitz James* went from hence to the late Kings eldest son, upon this account, then at *Paris*, and had a summe of money given him to promote that attempt, but

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he

he and *John Gerard* afterwards joyned in that design, the particulars whereof have been heretofore published; whereto We shall onely adde what is since more fully come to Our knowledg, (to make it manifest that it was not the heady, and rash resolution of *Gerard* himself, but that it was a part of the Design laid hy the pretended King, and of those who have the Conduct of his Affairs) That he himself spake to both *Fitz James*, and *Gerard* concerning it, and did not onely approve thereof, but declared that he looked upon it as a most necessary, if not the onely means to set all his other Designs on motion. It's true, he refused to speak with Major *Henshaw*, who went to *Paris* about the same time, or a little before, concerning the design, and conferred with Prince *Rupert* concerning it, by means of one *Chockly* a French-man; the Prince communicated it to *Charles Stuart*, who approved of the undertaking, and resolved to speak with him therein; but advertisement coming from *England*, in the mean time that *Henshaw* was sent from hence and employed to *Paris* to abuse them there, he refused afterward to see him, but relyed on *Gerard*, and *Fitz James*, to whom he gave precise directions, that they should not make their attempt till all his friends were ready in *England*. There was also one *Boswel*, and also one *Pierce*, and severall other persons imployed at other times for those Assassinations, and had laid the place, and manner

ner of execution, and the means whereby to attempt it; all the particulars whereof would be too large to set down, as it would the severall gracious Providences of God in the disappointing of them.

Another part of their design was, to work upon the severall discontented humours which they observed to be stirring in the Nation, employing fitting Instruments, who might from a true observation of their spirits and principles, fall in with all manner of discontented parties, and by proper mediums heighten, and blow up their discontents, and provoke them to a Rupture, laying this for their Maxim, *Divide & Impera*; the more parties they could make, the greater confusions they could bring forth, the easier would their work be: And therefore some they set up, who might abuse one sort of men, and draw them into discontents upon pretences of Liberty, and the rights of the free-born People of *England*, which they supposed were infringed by keeping up an Army, and by enforcing Taxes from them, and by not calling a free and equall Representative, chosen by all the People; and upon this subject, there was scarce a day but some Pamphlet or other came forth in Print, called Declarations, penned, printed, and published by the Kings Party, some whereof are now in prison, who appeared not in it themselves, but employed other Instruments. And they found *John Wildman*, and some others

of the like principles, most fitting Instruments for managing that part, of crying for Liberty, as those who might do it (as they imagined) without the least suspicion of being thought to correspond therein with the old Enemy, or of having intentions to promote his Cause and Interest. And therefore these were to carry on a design, which should in outward appearance be different from the other, (although in truth it came from the same root, and was directed to the same end) and to this purpose they had continuall meetings with such as they judged to be like themselves, and of the same mind with them, And though they themselves had turned their backs upon that profession of Christ and the Gospel, which they had once made, and were become loose in their conversations, and Atheisticall in their principles; yet they found means, by reason of their having been engaged on this part, to insinuate into, communicate with, and deeply influence some particular persons, otherwise (as We hope) well minded, in design against the Government, partly upon pretences of Liberty, and partly upon supposition of having a more pure administration of things; Vpon which subject likewise many Papers were printed and dispersed at the same time, and many others were in preparation.

And *Wildman* had brought his part to such maturity, that he wanted very little, but the open declaring himself in Arms, having in effect finished

shed the Declaration which was to be published upon that occasion, as appears by the Declaration it self, but it pleased God to prevent it by his sudden and unexpected apprehension, with his Declaration before him, just as he was dictating to his Servant the conclusion thereof; and the time that he should have declared himself, did fully answer the rising designed by the Royall Party, which fell out but a few dayes after.

Another thing which the Enemy had laid as necessary at least to keep Company with their intended Insurrection, was, that part of the Army in *Scotland* should have mutined, surprized their Generals, thrown off their Officers, and marched up to *London* under the command of Major General *Overton* (who was designed for that purpose) leaving the rest of the Army there, already under great discouragement, by reason of their late hard service, and for want of pay, to be devoured by the *Scots*, and also Forts and Garisons lately erected at the vast charge of this Commonwealth, to be possessed by them, there being no possibility left of sending them timely and seasonable supplies, in such times of trouble as must necessarily ensue such actions; And those who were made use of, to bring this to pass, were the Levellers, and also some others, who did not (as we hope) intend to serve the interest of *Charles Stuart*. But it is clear, that they were influenced and driven on by them, being made to believe by the Emissaries of the pretended King (Wolves in Sheeps clothing) that that part of the Army de-

signed for the Revolt, would under the Conduct
aforesaid, do much for the carrying on their bu-
siness, not foreseeing, that the Army being thus
divided and engaged against it self, It may be,
even to blood, would become a prey to the Ene-
my, and yield up this glorious cause, and the good
people of this Land, into their hands. These were
some of those Methods which Our enemies made
use of to prepare their way to their grand Design;
others they had of lesser moment, which We shal
not spend Our time in rehearsing; nor shall We
in expresse terms lay to their charge the swarming
of those Iesuits which are now croaking amongst
Vs, turning themselves into all Forms and shapes,
to deceive, and seduce men from the truth, accor-
ding as they find the bents, inclinations and prin-
ciples of men to be.

It is not onely commonly observed, but there
remains with Us somewhat in proof, that Iesuits
have been found amongst some discontented
Parties of this Nation; who are observed to quar-
rell, and fall out with every form of administra-
tion either in the Church or State; whether these
Emissaries of the Church of *Rome* are come hi-
ther by Counsel from *Charles Stuart*, We will not
now examine; This is certain, as the continuall
troubles, and unsettlement occasioned by his
Party here, opens the door for the entrance in of
those unclean Spirits, So his Agents make use of
them to advance one part of his work, to wit, the
fomenting, and maintaining of Parties, and fa-
ctions amongst Us.

And

And that they might the better know what directions to give, and what means they were to use from time to time for influencing the afore-said parties, and arriving at their ends, these following Instructions were given, amongst other things, to some of their *Agents*:

They were to inform themselves,

1. *What the present Strength of the Army in England, Scotland and Ireland is? by whom commanded? who have the chief Interest in them, and how they and their Officers are affected?*

2. *What are the principall Garrisons, especially Ports? how manned, and of what Strength, and which are the easiest to be gained, either by Force, or Treaty?*

3. *What the present Strength is at Sea, and how intended to be settled for the future?*

4. *What the constant Revenues, and constant expences of the Common-wealth are? how much the one exceeds the other? and if the expences be greater, by what means the Overplus is supplied?*

5. *What is the Condition of Trade, whether much decayed? and what Consequences that may draw?*

6. *Whether the Protector be absolute in his power, or forced to comply with others? who are his chiefest Friends or Enemies, and who have at present the greatest power in England? how the people and Army stand affected to the new Government, and person of the Protector?*

7. *What Parties and factions are now on foot? what their strength, principles, and inclinations as to the present Government, or a Conjunction with the King? and who are their chief Leaders?*

8. *What*

8. *What be the present Designs of the Protector, and the governing Party, as to War or Peace with Foreign Nations?*

9. *What is done in England or Scotland towards the reduction of the Kings party in the High-lands?*

These Instructions do further shew what that Party was doing here amongst Us.

Whilest these Engines were at work, the Enemy doth all they can to ripen their design of a Generall Rising, that all might be ready at once; Agents to that purpose are employed in the severall parts of the Nation, and every ones particular station appointed to them; some were for the West, others for the North, others for the East, others for *Surrey, Kent, &c.* and others for *Wales*; their work was to speak with such persons as were likely to joyn with them, and if they accepted, to acquaint them with what Resolutions were taken for the carrying on the Design, & the time for the execution thereof, with what else related thereto.

One chief part thereof was upon the City of *London*, where great endeavours were used to engage the Youth, Apprentices, and common sort of men, who might be able to raise combustions by firing the City or otherwise, thereby to prevent their appearing in Arms against them.

Privy Seals were sent unto severall persons for raising of money for managing this Work, and Treasurers appointed for the receiving the same, and severall very considerable Summes paid in, a part whereof was discovered, and seized upon.

Great

Great quantities of Arms, and other provisions of War, especially for Horsemen, were bought; many whereof were sent into the respective Countries, and lodged in the hands of persons engaged in this design; some We seized upon in the country, and some in their Magazines in *London*, Commissions were also sent in great numbers from *Charles Stuart*, and delivered to severall of his Party to raise Horse and Foot. Besides, they had been soliciting Forreign Princes to give them assistance of Men and Money to invade this Countrey; whom, although they found not very forward in undertaking any such enterprize, until some Sea Town of strength could be put into their hands, yet they did procure some sums of Money from them; and were not without good assurances of further Aid both of Men and Money, when they could secure them a place of Landing and Retreat.

Things being thus prepared, and a full account thereof given to their pretended King, although he was very desirous to have come attended with some Forreign Aids, yet seeing his Party to be in so good a readiness, he encouraged them to proceed to the execution; and promised them to be in some convenient place not far distant, at such time as they should, let him know the particular Day agreed upon by them for making their attempt, to come over hither, as he should finde his opportunity. The Letter he writ to his Party upon this occasion, is as followeth:

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You

You will easily believe, that I am very well pleased to hear how careful and solicitous you are for my Concernments, and of the course you resolve to take. The truth is, I have been so tender of my Friends, that I have deferred to call upon them to appear, till I could finde my self able to give them good Encouragemens from abroad: but since I finde that comes on so slowly, I will no longer restrain those Affections which I most desire to be beholding to; and I have reason to believe, That if they who wish one and the same thing, knew each others minde, the Work would be done without any difficulty, and if there were any handsom Appearance in any one place, the rest would not sit still; and I am perswaded I should then finde Supplies from those, who are yet afraid to offer them: However, I am sure I would my self be with those who first wished for me, and to that purpose, I will keep my self within a reasonable distance. Consult with those you dare trust, and if you are ready, agree upon a time, and you cannot promise your selves any thing that you will be disappointed in, and which is in the power of

16. Iuly,
1654

Your Affectionate Friend
CHARLS R.

After the receipt of this Letter, their Affairs grew apace unto a ripeness, and they found their Party so unanimously and universally resolved, and every thing so agreeable to their wishes, that

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(as severall of the persons acknowledged afterwards upon their Examinations) they thought it impossible for Us, though they should fully acquaint Us with the whole Contrivements, to prevent their Designs. And now, whereas some of them were of opinion, that they should take in some persons who had been for the Parliament, and were discontented, to make their Business the surer; it was denied by others of them, upon this Reason, That seeing they had no need of them, as their Affairs now stood, it would be prejudiciall to his Majesties Service, and their common Interest, to take in Persons whom they should afterwards be troubled to be rid of: by which may be seen, the confidence they had of the Success of their undertaking.

As for the time of executing what had been in their apprehension thus surely laid, they varied their Counsels in that particular, according as they found the Opportunities for the same to be more or less advantageous. They once resolved to take the occasion of Horse-Races, which they had appointed in several places for that purpose, whether they and their Servants should have come well Horfed and Armed, and so have declared themselves; but they were prevented therein by the Prohibition of Horse-Races.

Another time which was by them agreed upon (although they were somewhat impatient of so long stay, was at the rising of the last Parliament;) for observing that a great part of the

Army was insisted upon in Parliament to be disbanded, (a thing most desired by (as of most use to) the Enemy, who concluded, That if the Army was down, nothing else could stand in their way:) And that We were not likely in reason to consent thereto, in respect of the knowledge We had of their whole Design, severall persons being then apprehended, as guilty of that Contrivance, and divers Arms seized on in the hands of their Factors, they did hope by improving that, and severall other opportunities of discontent, which might fall out during that time, that the Parliament might rise with dissatisfaction, by the means whereof their Design would be much advanced, and therefore got all things in readiness against such a juncture of Affairs. But it having pleased God to make some further notable discovery to Us of this Conspiracy, and of the particular Persons engaged therein; the seizing of some of them both here, and in the severall Countries, together with the bringing over Threethousand Foot, and Six hundred Horse out of *Ireland*, did prevent them at that time, and in a great measure disheartned their Party, to see many of them secured, who were relyed upon for the Management of this Affair.

But *Charles Stuart* having, according to his promise, removed himself from *Cullen* into *Zealand*, on purpose to attend this Rising, and to come hither in person, so soon as he should understand, that it took effect according to his desires;

desires; and the Lord *Wilmot*, Major Generall *Wagstaff*, *O Neal*, and several others of that Party, being come actually over hither to Conduct and Lead the Design, and appointed to their severall Posts in the Nation, they agreed to [make their Attempt upon the Twelfth of March 1654 which they did accordingly.

And observing that the Body of the Army, especially the Foot, lay about *London*, they designed to rise first in the West, *Wales*, the North, and other Remote parts of the Nation, hoping thereby to draw the Army, or a great part of it, from hence: whereupon, *Kent*, *Surrey*, and their Party in *London* were to rise, and so make themselves, not onely Masters of the City, but form them into considerable Bodies. By the persons they had engaged, they reckoned upon Eight thousand in the North, and not fewer out of the West; and the number which should rise in these parts when the Army should have left it, to exceed both. The Garisons and strong places they intended first to surprize and seize upon, were *Portsmouth*, *Phymouth*, *Tork*, *Hull*, *Newcastle*, *Tinmouth*, *Chester*, *Shrewsbury*, *Tarmouth*, *Lyn* and *Boston*; as also to possess themselves of the Isle of *Ely*: The Forces in the West were to have been Commanded by the Duke of *Tork*; those in the North, by the Lord *Wilmot*, whom they call the Earl of *Rocheester*.

What issue it pleased the Lord to bring this great and generall Design to, no man is ignorant of.

The Insurrection in the West was bold and dangerous in it self; and had in all likelihood increased to great Numbers of Horse and Foot by the conjunction of others of their own Party, besides such Foreign Forces, as in case of their success, and seizing upon some place of Strength, were to have landed in those parts, had they not been prevented by the motion of some Troops, and diligence of the Officers in apprehending divers of that Party a few dayes before, and also been closely pursued by some of Our Forces, and in the conclusion suppressed by a handfull of men, through the great goodness of God.

That of *Yorkshire*, which the Enemy most relied upon, fell far short of their expectation, in respect that Our Forces by their marching up and down in the Countrey, and some of them providentially, at that time, removing their Quarters near to the place of Rendezvous, gave them no opportunity to assemble, and therefore those of them which came to the Rendezvous at *Hessam-moor*, under the Conduct of the Lord *Wilms*, with an Intention to surprize *York*, and so formed themselves into an Army, separated and run away in great Confusion and Disorder, as did also those who were rendezvoused near *Morpeth* to surprize *Newcastle*, being by the same Providence disappointed, by the coming of Three hundred Foot from *Berwick*, ordered thither for the security of that place.

Those in *North Wales* and *Shropshire*, part of which

which were designed to surprize and possess *Shrewsbury* Town and Castle; some of the Chief persons being discovered and apprehended, the rest fled.

At *Rufford-Abbey* in *Nottinghamshire* was another place appointed for a Rendezvous, where about Five hundred Horse met, and had with them in the Field a Cart-load of Horse-Arms, to arm such as should come to them; but upon a sudden, a great Fear fell upon them, insomuch that they left their Arms in the open Field, and every man shifted for himself. There were other smaller Parties, as in the Town of *Chester*, who designed the surprize of the Castle there, and also in *Staffordshire*, with divers other places in the Nation; but they failing in their expectations, were discouraged for that time.

And thus, by the goodness of God, first discovering and bringing to light these hidden Works of Darkness, and afterwards in putting Fear into the Hearts of these men, (that their Hands could not execute what they had contrived) the greatest and most dangerous Design, not onely for the involving Us in blood and Confusion here at Home; but exposing of Us unto the Will of Forreigners, hath been defeated and brought to nothing; and this cruell and bloody Enemy, put under as great and signal Disappointments, as any Age can produce an example of; it being a thing they had set their hearts

hearts upon ; and was the Work of almost Four years contrivement.

And now all men would have expected , that either through the sense of Gods Hand anew lifted up against them , or the other Discouragements they have met with in this their grand Undertaking ; they would have been weary of any further Attempts of this kind , and have forsaken that Cause and Interest , which hath brought so many of them to ruine : But so little hath these things wrought upon them , that some of them , when they ran away from their Rendezvouz , did it with a resolution to take a better opportunity , when the Government , in confidence of the present success , should be secure and less aware of them ; and they are at this very day at work upon other Designs , both here and in *Scotland* , and are endeavouring to procure Supplies of Men and Money from Forreign States , to begin new Troubles and Rebellions amongst Vs ; some Agents being sent from hence for that purpose this last Summer.

We shall not need to make any Application of what hath been said , it is plain to every one that is not blinded with prejudice , That these men are restless in their Designs , and are the causes of all Our Trouble and Unsettlement , and will leave no stone unturned , to render vain and fruitless , all that Blood which hath been spilt to restore Our Liberties ; and the hopes We
have

have conceived, of letting this poor Nation felled and reformed, from that Spirit of Profaneness which these men do keep up, and countenance in contempt of all Law and Authority; And therefore We thus argued, That unless We would give up the Cause so long contended for, and the Lives, Liberties and Comforts of all the well-affected of these three Nations into their hands, or leave them exposed to their continuall Attempts, the Peace and common Concernments of this Common-wealth, must be otherwise secured and provided for, then at present they were; That this was not to be done without raising Additional Forces; That the Charge of those Forces ought not to be put upon the good People who have born the heat and burthen of the day, but upon those who have been, and are the occasion of all Our Danger.

Vpon these Grounds, We have been necessitated to erect a new and standing Militia of Horse in all the Counties of England, under such Pay as might be without burthen to the peaceable and well-affected, and be a fitting Encouragement to the Officers and Soldiers, that they might not go to War at their own charge; And therefore We have thought fit to lay the burthen of Maintaining of these Forces, and some other publique Charges which are occasioned by them, upon those who have been engaged in the late Wars against the State, having respect notwithstanding therein to such of them, as are not able to undergo that Charge.

believe may perhaps be esteemed great Severity, to
 search the whole Party, when there hath been, in re-
 spect of the general number, but few convicted by
 Tryall, or detected by Testimonies to have been
 in these Designs and I, though I am not
 but it is true, the Proofs and Testimonies do not ex-
 tend to charge every individuall man, which will
 fall under this burthen, with any explicate acting,
 contriving, or designing for the Disturbance of
 the Peace; if that had been the Case, their whole
 Estates, by the ordinary Proceedings of the Law,
 had been confiscate: But We do appeal to all in-
 different men, who will weigh and consider the
 preceding Narrative, and the Contexture, Frame
 and Circumstances of this Design, Whether the
 Party were not generally involved in this Busi-
 ness, and in reason to be charged with it.

It is certain, here was the Cause and Quarrel of
 the pretended King, once more brought upon the
 Stage by his Followers, who for that purpose was
 come into the *Low-Countries*, ready to embarque
 for *England*, upon the first notice of success, which
 no man will believe he would have put himself
 upon in the Eye and Face of the World, if those
 who shewed themselves in Arms, were to have no
 other Seconds then what appeared; nor will it be
 imagined, that those of his Party who came over
 hither upon that Errand, as the Lord *Wilmot* and
Wagstaff, and others, would have run so great ha-
 zard upon so weak grounds: Or that those Gen-
 tlemen who did actually rise, could suppose that
 the

the Army then in being would be so easily over-
run, with much more considerable Forces than
were visible; Neither can it be presumed, that the
persons chiefly relyed upon for the Conduct and
Management of this Affair, and who doubtlesse
want no credit with that Party, would have en-
tered into this Engagement alone.

Great Sums of Money are collected, and sent
over to the pretended King, and furnisht also for
this Design, which We cannot think came out of
a few hands.

At this time this Party were observed to be to-
gether, to keep their Meetings apart from others,
to withdraw themselves in their ordinary conver-
sation, and to carry it with more than a usual con-
fidence against the well affected of the Nation, as
men under great hopes of a sudden Change, which
many of them did not forbear to make their
boasts of.

The time when this Attempt was made, is like-
wise observable; It was when nothing but a well-
formed Power could hope to put us into disorder;
Scotland and *Ireland* being perfectly reduced,
Differences with most Neighbor Nations com-
posed, Our Forces both by Sea and Land in order
and consistencie; The first budding of these Im-
broilments seasonably detected, and many of the
engaged persons apprehended, notice given of the
ensuing Danger to the whole Nation, Forces then
drawn from *Scotland* and *Ireland*, for the disani-
mation of these Contrivances; and yet after all
this, the wakeful Eye of an Army, of whose vir-

had been some proof in times past;
could by no means discourage them from proceed-
ing in this Attempt, nor frustrate this Rising in
severall parts of the Nation at one and the same
time: These things alone are enough to satisfie,
that these Troubles were the fruit of great deli-
beration and consent, and that they fell not out by
chance, or as the rash Undertakings of some few
inconsiderable person; But We need not spend
time upon this Subject, believing that every one
doth readily concur with Vs, That this Design
was generall, and levelled against all those, who
had upon any account whatsoever adhered to,
and owned this Cause.

This being then the Case, we have in Our own
Judgement such clear and convincing Grounds,
to justify Our proceedings with those men which
could scarcely be expected in cases of secret Treas-
ons and Conspiracies; a bare Correspondency
wherein, hath been alwaies accounted Capital:
And if the Supream Magistrate were in these Cas-
ses tyed up to the ordinary Rules, and had not a
Liberty to proceed, upon Illustrations of Reason,
against those who are continually suspected, there
would be wanting in such a State, the means of
common Safety; Conspiracies could never be
prevented, nor would the Precipitations of Our
Enemies from one mischievous Design to ano-
ther, ever hurt them.

Besides, admit that some of that Party were as
innocent, as they would now have it believed, they
were;

were; enough hath been done by their Fellows in a common cause (which hardly any of them know how to disown, which they love, and of which they glory) to draw the whole Party under a just Suspicion, and the consequences thereof: All that are peaceably-minded in the Nation are ready to say, These are the men of whom we go in danger, and certainly it is both just and necessary, that all those of whom the people have reason to be afraid (not only as their profest enemies, but also numerous) should pay for Securing the State against that Danger which they are the Authors of.

And former times have held this way of Proceeding just and reasonable, of which We could give many pregnant Instances, as well in this as in other Nations, some of which were done in the memory of several persons now living: And the reason why States may proceed in this manner, is, because that which is intended to be Exemplary, for the terrifying men from such Attempts for the future, will not other ways be proportionable to the danger of the past Offence, and so the publick Power can never be secure, whose Safety is the Peoples, but will be always exposed to the same mischief and hazards.

It is a trouble to Us to be still rubbing upon the old sore, disobliging those whom We hoped time and patience might make friends; but We can with comfort appeal to God, & dare also to their own consciences, whether this way of proceeding with them, hath been the matter of Our Choice,

or

or that which We have sought an occasion for, or whether, contrary to Our own inclinations, and the constant course of Our Carriage towards them (which hath been to oblige them by kindness to forsake their former Principles, which God hath so often, and so eminently born witness against) We have not been constrained and necessitated hereunto, and without the doing whereof, We should have been wanting to Our Duty to God and these Nations.

That Character of Difference between them and the rest of the People, which is now put upon them, is occasioned by themselves, not by Vs. There is nothing they have more industriously labored in, then is, To keep themselves separated, and distinguisht from the well-affected of this Nation: To which end they have kept their conversation apart, as if they would avoid the very beginnings of Union, have bred and educated their Children by the sequestred and ejected Clergy, and very much confined their Marriages and Alliances within their own Party, as if they meant to entail their Quarrel, and prevent the means to reconcile Posterity; which, with the great pains they take upon all occasions to lessen, and suppress the Esteem and Honor of the English Nation, in all their Actions and Undertakings abroad, striving withal to make other Nations distinguish their Interest from it, gives Vs ground to judge that they have separated themselves from the Body of the Nation; and therefore We leave it to all
mankind

(30)
mankind to judge, Whether We ought not to be
timely jealous of that Separation, and to proceed
to against them, as they may be at the charge of
those Remedies which are required against the
Dangers they have bred.

But if there be yet any person that hath been of
that Party, who will be exempted from this con-
federacie, & the inconveniences depending there-
upon, that can say in truth, he hath changed his
Interest, was wholly free from the aforesaid De-
sign, and can shew by good works preceding the
late Insurrection, a disclaimer of his former courf
and conversation, (the surest Characters in this
case, of a person satisfied with the trouble of the
time past, and meaning for the future to live qui-
etly) upon making it appear, he shall be dealt with
according to his integrity. Or if any of that Par-
ty, being yet sensible of the Error of their way,
shall change and forsake their former Interest, &
give real Demonstrations thereof, We shall much
more esteem of their Reformation, than desire
their harm or prejudice. In the mean time, We
do assure Our selves, that the good & well-affect-
ed of the Land, for whose sake We have chiefly
published these things, that they may know the
Grounds on which We do proceed towards their
Preservation, will receive Encouragement here-
by, and enjoy with Love & Vnity amongst them-
selves, the Fruits and Effects of that common In-
terest which they have long pursued, and not suf-
fer themselves to be divided by any artifices what-
soever,

Life

...the good man longs for
...greatly provoke the
...will be
...upon, that can say truth, he has managed his
...was wholly free from the noxious
...and can show good works
...and conversion, the last
...of a person is
...and meaning for the future to live
...appears, he shall be dealt with
...the Error of their way
...and for their former
...We shall
...their harm in
...the good & well-
...for whole take We have
...that they may know the
...We do proceed towards
...will receive
...Love & Unity amongst
...the same and effects of
...which they have long
...divided by any
...fover